2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

that a different set of relatives instructed her for a different set of economic pursuits. The women of the lodge were responsible for her training. They gave her toys, related stories and traditions, and taught her to care for her younger siblings. Her mother taught her to harness the dogs and took her to the forest for firewood. Some of my informants' most tender memories were of the times when as young girls, their mothers had given them dogs with harnesses, and had taken them along in gathering brush for the fires. The mother-daughter bonds were of deep affection. When the women of the lodge dressed hides, the daughter would help, and she had her own sewing kit containing awls, sinew thread, paints, beads, and porcupine quills, and she was taught the techniques of hide dressing and decoration, giving those who helped her little presents to express her affection. As a little girl, she made crude pots when the women of the lodge were making pottery, and, when old enough, she bought her mother's rights in the techniques and designs of pottery-making.

Parents owning rights in age-grade societies encouraged their children to join an age-grade society. Those too young to belong to a society would see older ones dancing. A girl's older sisters and women of the lodge would explain the procedure of buying as a group and helped collect goods for the transfer of the society to the younger girls. Membership in a society introduced a series of new obligations. Heretofore her obligations were with the persons of her parental household. As a member of an organized female group, composed largely of persons of her own age and outside her own household, she was called on to prepare robes and other clothing for the brother or husband of a society member who was buying a ceremonial bundle or was having rites performed for the renewal of a bundle. As a member of an organized group she likewise received assistance when her own family was buying rights in a sacred bundle. Collectively she treated those in the next older group as mothers and those in the group younger than her own as daughters.

Preadolescent boys also joined an age-grade society, buying as a group from the older boys on the advice of their parents. All boys of the age eligible to buy would organize to join. Some boys were not interested; some households were temporarily broken

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up by death or divorce; some fathers were in disrepute, having conducted an unsuccessful war expedition. An old man of a boy's lodge, one who had belonged to many societies, learning in the village that there was talk of buying the youngest society, would encourage his grandson to join and would help him accumulate the goods used for the purchase.

Joining an age-grade society for the first time as a boy, he encountered a "father-son" relationship which had heretofore applied only to his own household. He was selected by a member who was of his father's clan, and the initiate addressed him as "father" during all the proceedings preliminary to the formal purchase; he learned that the other two or three boys his ceremonial "father" had selected were likewise based on a "father-son" relationship. This "father-son" relationship, extending outside his own household, formally instituted when making his first purchase into a society, became the basis of his behavior in buying and selling societies and ceremonies for the rest of his life.

FASTING AND FIRST WAR EXPEDITIONS

Fasting during the Okipa ceremony marked the introduction of the boy to status in the tribe as a whole and was first instituted at the age of eight or nine, when the people of all the villages were assembled for this annual event. The first fasting was of short duration. The fasting periods increased until a boy reached the age of seventeen or eighteen, when he was expected to fast for the entire duration of the Okipa ceremony and to drag buffalo skulls or be suspended by means of thongs inserted under the skin. Visions were not induced each time one fasted; neither were they expected.

It was believed that one's social personality was determined by sacred beings before the birth of the individual and that fasting was a means of renewing these former instructions that were temporarily forgotten while being born and cared for in the village. It was also believed that in the universe there were many sacred people who would adopt as a "son" those who fasted frequently and made offerings to them or who gave feasts to the sacred bundles of the village. A young man was taught to consult not only his own father but all men of his father's clan on matters of a sacred character. If one's sister's son seemed neg-

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MATURITY AND MIDDLE AGE

885 A man was considered to have reached maturity when, several years after his first marriage, he had assumed most of the responsibility of providing meat for the household and had taken over important ceremonial duties. Marriage introduced him to a new set of relatives with a new pattern of behavior in his daily associations with them. Marriage also introduced his wife to new sets of relations as well as new ceremonial relatives.

561 By the time a young man had reached maturity, he would normally have advanced through at least three age-grade societies. Except for the first society which was owned by the young preadolescent boys, the buyer was expected to bring his wife to the transfer ceremonies. She was expected to give assistance in the preparation of the food and goods used during the society transfer. A man's ceremonial "father" from whom he received paraphernalia and instructions in the lore and rites of the society was a ceremonial "grandfather" to the wife and was entitled to have "intercourse" with her during the transfer ceremonies. The men's societies all followed a common pattern when being transferred. The sellers individually selected young men, not more than four in number and whose fathers were of the seller's clan, to sponsor during the transfer ceremonies. He had the necessary clothing and equipment prepared for his "sons" and gave them individual instructions prior to the meeting of the two groups representing the sellers and buyers.

561 554 The sellers addressed the buyers collectively as "sons," who in turn addressed the sellers as "fathers." All the wives of the buyers were addressed by the sellers as "granddaughters." A man's social status grew in proportion to the number of societies he had owned at one time or another and was especially enhanced if he had kept the same wives who assisted him in all his society purchases. Those who had enjoyed the loyalty of their wives while making many society purchases were especially regarded because they continued the same "father-son" relationship independent of the societies afterward. Crows Heart frequently referred to occasions in later years when he had invited in the men who acted as his sponsors when buying into a society and had given them a meal and little presents.

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224 out daily to travel as much as one hundred and fifty miles from the village to observe the numbers and movements of the buffalo. Returning war leaders were called in to report the number and size of the herds they had observed. The leader planned the hunt on the basis of the knowledge he had acquired from several sources and designated the spots where the party would camp each night. This information together with the time of departure from the village was given to the Black Mouth Society, which sent its announcer through the village to notify the people.

221 241 796 The summer buffalo hunt was scheduled as a permanent part of the summer's activities and did not interfere with the normal village routine. The gardens were prepared and planted in May, and the first performance of the Okipa was celebrated just prior to leaving for the summer hunt. Since one of the purposes of the Okipa was to have the Buffalo Dance performed, it was believed that it should be held prior to the summer hunt. Ceremonies to the buffalo were believed to insure a good hunt and the replenishment of their numbers by the escape of the buffalo spirits from the spirit homes in which they lived before being born into the herds. The leader was not authorized to call an unscheduled hunt.

224 ●561 Crows Heart believed that all the leaders selected in his time belonged to the Black Mouth or Bull men's societies, since these were the two oldest active societies, but felt that membership was not obligatory, since in former times there were so many people that all did not belong, especially those who were too busy with other ceremonial matters. The leader never undertook to direct the hunt unassisted. He invited in all those with the right to pray to the buffalo to meet at his lodge and assist him. These would be the officers of the Okipa and Red Stick ceremonies, Okipa Makers, and all those who had buffalo skulls in their bundles whether acquired by vision or purchase. He discussed his plans with them and changed them if any offered a reasonable objection. The hunt was frequently canceled when war leaders reported unusual numbers of enemies about.

224 In early times dogs were used, but, after horses were acquired, the summer hunts of later times were out much farther. The leader was always to the front, and the party followed behind

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in a line. Household groups kept together, since they would stop from time to time to dig wild turnips. Whenever the leader saw these plants in great numbers, he would ask his assistant, the announcer of the Black Mouths, to stop the party. All would dig except the scouts, who were ahead guarding the party against surprise by the enemy or hunting for fresh meat, and the Black Mouths, who were mounted and armed to protect the party against attack. The latter watched for stragglers and helped them to join the main party.

The leader selected the camping place which had been agreed upon in advance, and the Black Mouths enforced the regulations that the lodges be arranged in a circle at a certain distance from each other and compelled those whose lodges were out of place to take them down and set them up in such a way that the circle was complete except for a larger entrance at the side of the leader's lodge where the horses could be brought through to be corraled within the open circle. The leader's household was at the front of the line when traveling and was the first to set up a tepee; the back end of the line which was assembled by household groups swung around in a wide circle so that the last in the line set up their tepee at the side of the leader's tepee, thus completing the circle. Ropes were tied between the tepees forming a corral into which the horses were driven for the night.

The leader's tepee was used as a meeting place for the people assisting him in planning the hunt. They selected the scouts each day and relieved others who had ridden far; when the party had reached its destination, they also selected the leader of the hunters who was changed from day to day if the work of killing animals was tedious as was often the case when the buffaloes were in small bands. The leader was responsible for the success of the entire party and was expected to call in the hunters if scouts reported an enemy encampment until it was decided whether to move to another place or make provisions for the defense of the party. The Black Mouths drove all the women and children into the camp and enforced rigid rules against leaving.

The men butchered the animals and brought the meat to the camp, while the women cut it into strips and dried it on scaffolds. All were expected to get equal amounts, and a woman

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tacts with most families, since a person was not considered important who could not argue in council for a certain point of view based on traditional action of the group. Group action was in a large measure regulated by custom. These patterns of behavior were in a large measure perpetuated by the storyteller. Anyone seeking the position of chief would need a considerable knowledge of tribal history to attain that status. No amount of success in warfare or performance of ceremonies would in themselves have been sufficient. It was this extra knowledge of tribal lore that distinguished them as leaders. Actually, whenever one was the recipient of goods and honors from another, a new and intimate relationship was established between them. Those who had provided many feasts and acquired a considerable knowledge of tribal lore were ultimately selected to become the leaders of the various groups.

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Men who had reached middle age were called on to insert the thongs for a "son" who was preparing to fast and to pray for his success. They were expected to supervise the fasting and have it terminated when there was a possibility that the "son" was carrying his fasting to excess. Those who had good war records or had made significant contributions toward village welfare in other ways offered many feasts to the older men hoping that, by so doing, they would be named village leaders. A man would announce renewal feasts to his ceremonial bundle from time to time and call in those who had similar bundles. Some would assist in removing arrows and opening wounds or doctor in other ways when the occasion warranted.

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Men of middle age belonged to the Black Mouth Society, which was intrusted with the organization and protection of the village. This was the most highly organized men's society. It met every two or three days and received its instructions from the older men meeting in council. It was their duty, whenever the village was in danger of attack, to see that none left the village without permission. Each member carried a club carved according to his own individual preference, and he was expected to use it if anyone was found violating the rules. If the announcer called through the village that the people were not to leave the village and anyone was seen leaving, the Black Mouths would drive him back. Crows Heart remembered a

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man who drew his gun when being driven back and was killed by the Black Mouths. Usually it was the duty of one's brothers to revenge a sibling's death, but in this instance siblings took no action. The Black Mouths were believed to be the bravest men of the village. Before making an attack on the enemy, their leaders would stick their lances into the ground which meant that they would not retreat. When on the summer buffalo hunts they received their orders from the leader and were instructed to prevent premature hunting and to see that the party did not break up. Although they endeavored to prevent war parties from leaving the village when there was danger of attack, they inflicted no punishment when an unauthorized war party returned.

It was believed that an individual's influence with sacred things advanced in age. They were consulted on sacred matters and were offered their "sons' " wives frequently during the buffalo ceremonies. Men and women assisted in the disposal of the dead. It was a man's duty to assist a clan sister in the construction of the scaffold for one whose father was of their clan, to superintend the painting and wrapping of the body.

OLD AGE AND DEATH

The old people were respected members of the household. The grandfather would assist the youngsters of the lodge in making toys and in playing their simple games, but he was always held in high regard as the one from whom the child's father had acquired much of his training in sacred matters. Having more time to give to the instruction of the children of the lodge, he would assist them in learning stories if the children were interested in hearing them. The older women assisted the younger women about the lodge and in the gardens but were not expected to do much work.

The older women were organized into two age-grade societies which were sacred in character. Women of advanced middle age joined the Goose Society and, when they had reached the menopause, sold to younger women and bought into the White Buffalo Cow Society.[3] As members of these societies they were respected for their supernatural powers over agriculture and

3. See the chapters on ceremonialism for an account of their origin.

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888 561 562 hunting. Women holding rights in the various Holy Women bundles also met whenever a medicine feast was given. Their rights were individually acquired by assisting their husbands or brothers in the bundle purchase. Some of their number were members of the Goose or the White Buffalo Cow societies.

888 562 The older people performed an important role in the ceremonies so long as they were not too feeble to get around. Women who had assisted others at childbirth became doctors after the menopause and could substitute for a man in a great many of the societies. In many ceremonies they were the medium through which the traditions and bundles were transmitted to a legitimate male heir.

888 785 755 Fasting was generally completed by the time one reached fifty years of age. In case of repeated bad luck or failure to attain a definite goal, fasting for short periods was practiced during a ceremony. When an epidemic of sore eyes broke out at Fishhook Village, one old woman fasted to seek relief from her affliction. Since her eye trouble was cleared up shortly afterward, quite a number of middle-aged and old people fasted to cure the ailment. Calf Woman said that more than half of them got relief.

888 431 787 People who were past middle age and who had been relatively successful all their lives would frequently have bad dreams in which they were being killed and cut up by the enemy or were drowning. It was believed that one could forestall this misfortune by giving away all his property. He would call in those who had been successful and were owners of important tribal bundles to give away his property, consisting of robes and bedding, household utensils, dogs, and horses, until the family was utterly destitute. One doing this would walk through the village repeating the dream. When the bad dream failed to materialize within the designated time, such people were said to be holy and as such were called the "protectors of the village." In appreciation of their sacrifices, each household group was expected to contribute something toward their comfort.

888 421 324 The old people had privately owned game pits and were entitled to the animals found in them. According to tradition, before horses were acquired, pits were widely used and owned by households. Ruins of game pits are still to be seen in consider-

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lungs, heart, and windpipe were tied, drifted along with the wind until they reached the foot of the hill where the young man was fasting. They sang a song which mentioned the name of the young girl who was the cause of the disappearance of these families. She was destroyed by burning, which freed the people she had consumed. A sacred bundle was established by the young man. A buffalo robe represented the young girl, and twelve red sticks were carved to represent the twelve buffalo bulls.

Bundle transfer was traditionally from father to son,[3] but the information on actual transfers is so limited that it was not possible to check this belief with actual transfers. The ceremony was not given after the buffalo herds disappeared.

The pledge to give the ceremony could be made either by an individual or by an age-grade society. In the case of the former, clan brothers of about the same age assisted by bringing their wives with food and goods. The owner of the sacred bundle would select twelve older men who had given the ceremony or who had sacred buffalo skulls, acquired through vision or purchase with bundles, to carry the red sticks. When an age-grade society gave the ceremony, the bundle-owner distributed the red sticks among the members of the next highest age-grade society who impersonated the buffalo bulls.

The ceremony was held in the giver's lodge. He paid those who carried the red sticks and the bundle-owner who set up the robe of First Pretty Woman on an ash stake to represent a young girl. These carriers of the red sticks met at the bundle-owner's lodge in the evening to receive their ceremonial paraphernalia, after which by four stages they approached the lodge where the ceremony was being held. At each stop the giver's wife would put down a robe and a corn ball.

Upon entering the lodge where the ceremonies were to be held, the carriers placed the red sticks in a row extending from the fireplace to the head of the lodge, and the image of First Pretty Woman was placed to the right of them.

During the afternoon the Black Mouths sent their criers through the village announcing the buffalo dances were to be

3. We cannot be certain that this is true. Owing to influences of the Hidatsa pattern, Mandan bundles were in the process of shifting from clan to father-son inheritance during the eighteenth century. In numerous instances where informants stated inheritance was from father to son, genealogies showed inheritance to be within the clan.

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Chapter XV

THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY[1]

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THE two highest of the four women's age-grade societies, the White Buffalo Cow and Goose societies, were religious in character. The Goose Society[2] was organized, according to tradition, by Good Furred Robe to dance during the Corn ceremonies. During the time women were performing the ceremony, they would dream of corn or the supernatural beings associated with corn so that, when the time came to sell the society to younger women and buy into the next age-grade society, most women had minor rights in the Corn ceremonies and were invited to come to the corn feasts.

When Calf Woman was two years old, she was taken into the White Buffalo Cow Society to represent the buffalo calf. As a young woman she bought into the Goose Society. After selling out to younger women, she always attended and danced with the society. There was not the entire relinquishment of rights in the two highest Mandan women's societies so characteristic of the men's societies and the lower women's societies. Both Scattercorn and Calf Woman were in agreement that this was due to their religious character. The Goose Society was associated with the spring and fall migration of the birds and the summer Corn ceremonies. The White Buffalo Cow Society was associated with the winter migration of the buffalo herds from the flats to the river bottoms. The ceremony was held during the shortest days to bring the winter buffaloes. While the ceremony was in progress, the Black Mouth Society policed the winter village to see that none chopped wood, left the village to hunt, or had their dogs running loose. Announcement was given in advance that

1. See Maximilian in *Early Western Travels, 1748–1846*, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites (Cleveland, 1906), XXIII, 297; XXIV, 48–49; Henry A. Boller, *Among the Indians* (Philadelphia, 1868), pp. 216–22; Robert H. Lowie, *Societies of the Hidatsa and Mandan Indians* ("Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History," Vol. XI [1916]), pp. 346–54.

2. See Boller, *op. cit.*, pp. 147–49 and 283.

2: Bowers E· 5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

the ceremonies would begin at such a time, and the people were expected to have a wood supply on hand. The people were expected to be quiet, and stray dogs were either tied up or killed. Both Calf Woman and Scattercorn (her father, Moves Slowly, was singer for the Mandan women) believed that the society was founded by the Mandan and bought by the Hidatsa.

ORIGIN MYTH OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY RELATED BY SCATTERCORN

The White Buffalo Women's Society began from a dream a man once had when he was fasting out on the hills. He dreamed that he heard a man calling from far away. He continued to fast. The fourth night the voice was so clear that he could heard the words. The voice kept saying, "Put a child with them." Soon he saw a man coming with two small children in his arms.

The man said, "I am going to give you these two children. Prepare a feast, and I will return to you. I am the buffalo. When you have the feast ready, I will come; you will have plenty of buffaloes all the time."

The man who had been fasting came back to the village and told how a buffalo man had promised him that his people were coming to the village to give him two buffalo children. He asked that the people put up a feast of all the different varieties of corn. He asked two women to come and receive the two buffalo children.

Soon a party of strange women came to eat the food and showed them how to give the dance. When the women left, the two children struggled to free themselves because they wanted to follow the women. One got away, but the other one was kept in the village. The child was reared in the tribe, and it was from this feast that the White Buffalo Society began.

Each winter the women came back to see the child. They were the buffalo cows, so the society danced to give the buffaloes a chance to see their child. The buffalo women would bring the winter buffalo herds with them.

The rule was that a woman should not belong to this society until she was beyond the childbearing age. This was the highest and last society to which women could belong. Women could not be members while they still had menstruation periods, as it was believed that the blood would drive the buffaloes away.

The society kept four men as singers. They bought their rights and could sell out whenever they wanted to. Before the ceremony of selling was held, the women put up a sweat-lodge frame which resembled an inverted bullboat frame. The ones buying must supply five or six robes for the cover. Each one buying gave a wooden dish and robes to one of the older women, whom she called "mother," to get her rights in the society. One person was selected to buy the leader's robe, which was white. As soon as the sale was concluded, the new society women lined up. The leader would be on the end of the line wearing the white buffalo robe with the hair outside. The child, a little girl between the years of two and nine, stood in the center of the line wearing a robe with the hair side out. A woman at the end of the line wore the robe of a summer buffalo and was called the summer buffalo. All the other women wore their robes with the hair side in. A woman standing next to the child burned the

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incense and smoked the clothing they wore. The child represented the small buffalo calf left in the tribe by the buffalo women.

The dance was symbolic of the return of the buffaloes. All wore a band of buffalo hide around the arms and forehead, in which were tied owl and magpie feathers. The head woman wore a headband of white buffalo hide.

The dance was performed in the winter during the shortest days. Its purpose was to bring the buffalo herds back to the villages. It also was believed to bring cold weather, causing the herds to desert the flats for the sheltered river bottoms. Failure to have given the dances would have resulted in small herds or none at all. Someone always paid to have the dances.

CALF WOMAN'S NARRATIVE OF THE WHITE BUFFALO COW SOCIETY

I was two years old when I went into the Hidatsa White Buffalo Society, and the women would carry me on their backs in the dance. The singers were Crows Paunch, Bear Looks Out, Poor Wolf, and Red Wing (a Mandan).

The Goose Society was first, and the women selling out the Goose Society bought in. The society also came from the Mandan, but it passed over to the Hidatsa long before the Goose Society was passed over. Women were forty-five to fifty years old when joining. Bear Looks Out and Poor Wolf liked the ways of the society, and they went to the Mandan and bought singer rights.

The members of the society were: Calf Woman (a child), Otter, Dances Along, Different Sage, Root, Lone Woman, Good Paint, Long Hair, both of the Sioux Women, All Blossoms, Flying, Spring Woman, Cherry Women, and all those who had belonged to the Goose Society except Juneberries. I am today the only Mandan or Hidatsa with rights in the society.

After a group of women sell their rights in the Goose Society, they still have the right to attend their meetings and dance. [Scattercorn verified this.]

Everything in buying is the same as with the Goose Society, and the sale is made in the late fall. They meet each night for sixty nights; during that time those who are buying the society bring in food for the society they are buying out. At the end of the sixty nights, the older people give the clothing needed in the ceremony to the ones who are buying in.

Otter wore the white robe; I was the middle person wearing the little calf robe. Flying was the third person to wear one of the special robes of a calf and was well into the forties at that time.

We would meet in the wintertime when the days were the coldest, also in early winter when the days were shortest. The leader wore the white robe; they called her "white robe." The middle one wore a calf robe; she was called "good calf robe." *MitE'atu'ki* means "white robe." The third officer is "keeper of the incense." They make incense of a fine, pulpy, yellow material such as is used in the Bear ceremony. It comes from the Crow Indians. Lead or Lone Woman [mother's sister of Calf Woman] was "keeper of the incense." The last woman in the line holds the robes over the smoke before they put them on. They dance in a circle just like in the Goose Society. The singers in the Goose Society kept their rights even when the women sold out. Two women sit back of the woman with the white robe, wearing skunk headdresses, and it is their job to look after the spectators. Lone Woman attended to the incense, taking incense to the first three officers, then to the buffalo skull and finally around to all the women and the singers. They dance in the winter when they want the buffaloes to come and any other time, except when warm

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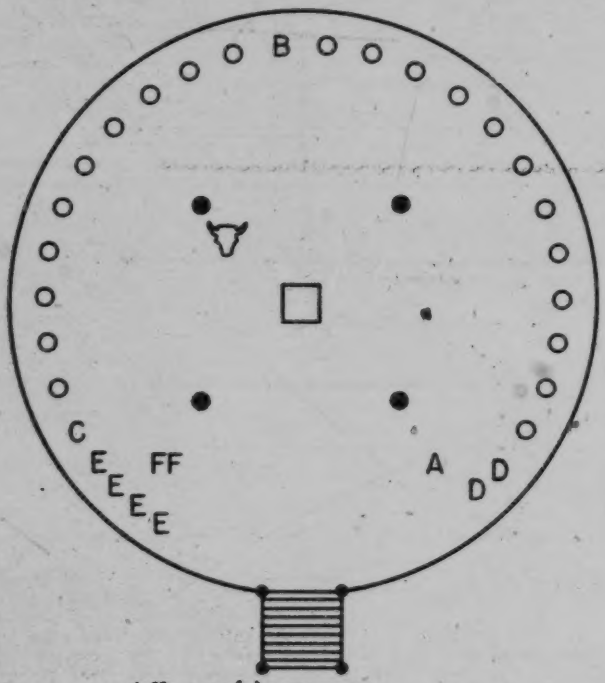
enough for the crops, upon invitation. When they sing the songs in the spring after the crops are in, the frost will kill all the plants, so they are afraid to sing or dance then. They would not meet often in the wintertime if someone did not offer them a feast. They feel that they must dance once in the year, anyway, even though no one puts it on. Then they smoke the robes and skull before dancing. All the dancers wear a headband of white buffalo hair, two magpie tail feathers, and white down feathers of the eagle together with owl



A, Keeper of the ceremony
B, Child representing Buffalo Calf
C, Woman representing Summer Buffalo
D, Women acting as waiters
E, Singers
F, Giver of ceremony and wife

FIG. 44.—Lodge plan of the White Buffalo Cow Women's Society

feathers. They dance four times beginning in the evening, and it takes them until late into the night. The fourth time they dance, Lone Woman stands up and takes all their robes off so they dance in their buckskin dresses. The person giving the ceremony would sit with his wife next to the singers and toward the door (see Fig. 44).

They always meet in the leading woman's lodge, in this case Otter's lodge. Otter had three daughters, three sisters, and a mother living in that lodge, and that way there were eight of them; they would hitch up their dogs and bring in wood and water for the ceremony. She had three sons and a son-in-law, and they brought the buffalo meat. That was what they had when they danced.

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She was "Keeper of the Ceremony," and, when they danced, she fed the whole society. If another was putting on the ceremony, it would still be best to hold it in Otter's lodge. Old Packineau used to invite them in often. Otter made corn balls for the ceremony, and after the first dance she passed small pieces to each of the women.

The Mandan White Buffalo Society singers were Moves Slowly, Red Buffalo Cow, Short Bull, and Iron Eyes; Brown Nose, wife of Bear on Water, was the leader.

One time they danced in winter camp north and opposite to Independence. While they danced, a buffalo came and walked up to the door, and they killed it there.[3] They would take my little robe and all the headdresses to tie to a stick. They put them outside of the lodge in the morning after dancing all night; then in the evening they would take them back, doing that every day and taking them down for the four nights of dancing. During the four days of the ceremony, they stayed at the lodge, sleeping there when the ceremony was not in session. After the dance, each woman made corn balls. One of the singers with his rattle, in this case it was Red Wing, would sprinkle water on them. When he did that, the people would come in. They passed the corn balls around four times to the people who came to look on. They would place their headdresses and robes in a row with corn balls in front of each one. Then the owners would come and take the corn balls that were placed in front of their robes. They gave Red Wing many things for doing this for the women and singers, and he was the one who got the principal reward for it all.

There were four old women in the group who sold out, Corn Woman, Brave Woman, Spring Woman, and All Blossom. Each had from four to six younger women whom they had to claim as "daughters." They had to give the younger ones robes and clothing to be used in the ceremony. Corn Women had no daughters of her own. Spring Woman had one daughter (myself) and took as her daughters, Cherries, Long Hair, Many Yellow, Root, Different Sage, Flying Woman—seven in all, but not all were of the Chicken clan. Brave Woman took in Calf Woman, Cherries, and Peppermint. Corn Woman took in Lone Woman, the two Sioux Women, and another Cherry Woman. All Blossom took in all the rest of the women who were left. Red Wing had Crow Paunch, Bear Looks Out, and Poor Wolf. Red Wing was the only one of the old singers who had belonged with the four old women. Before dancing, the women painted the left side of their faces red and the right side blue with clay. They wore buckskin dresses and robes, but three had special robes and headdresses and painted their temples. The singers dressed in any manner they wished and also used any face paints they wanted.

After the ceremony was over, Red Wing cleansed the articles and each put her things away carefully, ready for the next ceremony. After that, different ones would invite us to their lodges immediately to feast, and then we would go back to our own lodges, having been away for four nights. I was the only girl in my family, and they thought so much of me that they urged and helped me to join different societies.

At Like-a-Fishhook Village the Mandan and Hidatsa kept their ceremonies separate. The Mandan met in Moves Slowly's lodge. He was head singer, getting his rights from Corn Woman's father, Enemy Face.

The ceremony in the two tribes was identical. The songs were alike also.

3. See *ibid.*, p. 305, for a reference to a similar incident.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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than any other nation; also that they sold grain, tobacco, peltry, and painted plumes to the Assiniboine for arms, kettles, and other things of European manufacture. As is seen from this account of Verendrye, European culture touched them very early by means of trade with nations farther east, and they were quick to take up the better articles so acquired. For this reason it is difficult to get any description of the use of earlier crude bone and stone implements, most of which had almost gone out of use when Lewis and Clarke visited the villages.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. — As regards the social organization, the Mandans were divided into two sorts of bands. By the first method, like the Pawnee, they were known according to the old village from which they had originally come. Maximilian names at one time eight villages in describing the old habitations; in another place he says they had thirteen and gives the names for six more, this gives fourteen distinct village names. He says that the people were known by the names of the villages whence they originally came, and Morgan mentions eight of the names given, as the gens names. This is the only trace of a gens organization found. The second method of grouping into bands followed the lines of the general plains division according to age. The First Chief who led them from underground was the originator of these divisions. This chief gave to each band its own songs and whistles and directions as to conducting its dances. Each of these bands was distinguished by a number of songs, by a certain sort of war whistle, by its head-dress and a number of other details of attire and ceremony. For the men there were six recognized bands. As men grew older they went from one band to the next. Each band or society had a limited membership, and a place in the band above was only obtained by purchase from a member who was ready to resign his place, and try to purchase a place in a band still higher up. New members must be received by all the old members of the band or the sale could not be made. Each society had a chief who was in charge of all important affairs. After a sale the new member gave a feast to the whole band, and following this the purchase property was returned to

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561 the buyers. The first band was that of "The Dogs Whose Names Are Not Known." To this band boys from ten to fifteen years of age could belong. Maximilian was told that at first older men might belong to this band but that this was afterwards changed. Admission to this society and the learning of the dance was bought from a member by the boy's father. Maximilian says that the dances of all the bands were about the same, the differences being in the songs. Each band had a particular drum and rattle.

The second band was the "Band of the Crows", composed of men from twenty to twenty-six years of age.[1] There was usually an interval between the first and the second band when the man belonged to no group. Crow plumes were the distinguishing feature of this division.

561 625 623 [728] The third society was the "Soldier Band" and was composed of the most distinguished warriors of the tribe. The members of this band could never retreat before an enemy. Another feature was its possession of two sacred pipes. All members of the higher bands belonged at the same time to this one. This group had charge of policing and regulating the [71] village, a well-known feature of the Soldier Band among the Sioux and other plains tribes. They formed a committee which regulated all the important affairs of the nation, fixed the time for hunts and applied all the laws.[2]

561 The fourth division was the "Dog Band." Three members from this wore a red cloth down the back such as all the first band wore. These three were known as the Dogs, and anyone could throw a piece of meat on the floor or in the fire, saying "There, Dog, eat," and any of these three must obey.

The fifth band was that of the "Buffalos" or "Wolves." These in dancing wore the skin of a buffalo head with the horns. The two bravest, chosen by all, who never under any conditions could flee from an enemy, wore the whole head and horns and [534] looked through artificial eyes. This was the only band which had a wooden drum. In this society there was also one woman who offered the two head dancers a basin of water as they danced.

[1] Op. cit., p. 409. [2] Ibid., p. 411.

3: Will and Spinden E-5 (1905) 1906
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The sixth group was that of the "Black-tail Deer" and consisted of men over fifty years of age. There were two women in this band who served food and distributed fresh water during the dances. The men wore a crown of bears' claws.

There were a few other dances which were bought and sold, but which hardly deserve a place in the regular system. One of these was the dance of the "Half Shaven Head Band" which the lowest band could buy before reaching the proper age to buy into the "Soldier Band." Another was the "Old Dog Dance." The "Dog Band" could buy this of the "Buffalo Band" before becoming Buffalos themselves or being able to. The "Hot Dance" was danced at Rouhptare by the youngest band, and also at the Hidatsa village where it was purchased from the Arikara. The dancers danced barefoot over live coals and plunged their hands into boiling water.

The women, too, were divided into bands. There were four of these of which the first was "The Band of the Gun" which consisted of the younger girls. Next was the "River Band." The third band was the "Hay Women" who sang only the scalp dance. The fourth and last band was that of the "Women of the White Cow," most of them were old, and they were all tattooed with black lines from the mouth to the base of the chin.

The marriage customs of the Mandan Indians differed little from those of their neighbors. Polygamy was common, although a large part of the men had but one wife. Descent was probably along the male line, though there may have been remains of an older custom of descent along the female line, for all the horses captured by a young man belonged to his sister. The women worked hard and were sometimes badly treated though not as a general rule. Lewis and Clarke says that infidelity was punishable by death. Maximilian says it was punishable by cutting off the woman's nose. When a man's wife was stolen he had a right to demand a horse from the abductor. Separations occurred among them quite frequently. Virtue among the women was held in high esteem but was rather scarce. There are accounts of a celebration where prizes were given to the virtuous maids — these celebrations also took place

4: Lowie
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[Although no mention is made of it in the analyzed sections of this source, the Mandan and Hidatsa societies are also age-graded. Therefore, for information concerning category 561 (age stratification) see also category 575 (sodalities). -- Analyst]

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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after the transfer of regalia, the fathers went out, with the ex-
captain 575 three men, who remained to instruct the new members in singing. These
575 three fathers stood between the door and the fireplace, but nearer to the
527 latter, while the new group of Little Dogs ranged themselves in a three-
868 quarter circle in the rear of the lodge. While the fathers sang, the members
533 danced, moving both feet at the same time and also raising and lowering their arms. Then the Little Dogs proceeded in single file to an open place, the singers following in the rear. Wounded-face says that as first lancer he took the lead, while his associate brought up the rear, and that the sash-wearers had no special place in the line. All the new members blew their whistles while coming out and formed a circle in the open place. The three fathers stepped inside the circle. At this first public parade, the old people called out the members' names and admonished them to try to die soon. Water-chief actually went on a war party soon after the parade, and put on his sash, thinking, "If I get killed, my old people will call out my name; if I live, I shall strike an enemy." As a matter of fact, he struck two women near the enemy's camp, and his people rejoiced.

575 After several songs and dances the Little Dogs stopped and went back
431 to their lodge, where they sat about and danced. The fathers sent messengers to summon their sons. Each son then went to his father's house, sometimes accompanied by his wife. The father gave his son a present of food, which the wife took home; if the son came alone, he took the food back to the society's lodge.

575 Like other societies, the Little Dogs occasionally went through the camp at night singing and waking up the villagers.

Crazy Dog Society.

575 In Maximilian's account the Crazy Dog (mini's'ōxka ō'xat'e)[1] society
● 561 figures as that of the youngest age group, embracing boys of from 10 to 15 years of age. In the list of my informants it ranks as the fourth society to be purchased by young men. It was obviously constituted in their day by married men; for they had all married before the purchase of the next lower society (see p. 304). Maximilian was told that in former days old men had also belonged to the organization, but on the understanding that they were never to retreat from the enemy.

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[1] The native name is nowadays at first blush interpreted as "Broncho Society." Maximilian, however, renders it "die thörichten Hunde, oder die Hunde deren Namen man nicht kennt, (les chiens fols, ou les chiens dont on ne connait pas le nom)," and this translation is confirmed on further inquiry. Cf. footnote, p. 302. Yellow-hair explicitly identified the Mandan *mini'ō'xka ō'xate* with the Hidatsa *mace'ka wara'xe* (see p. 280).

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Old Dog Society.[1]

Maximilian, while not including this society in his list of age-classes, states that the Old Dog dance was one which the Dogs might buy of the Bulls before they were permitted to become Bulls. The Old Dog dancers painted their bodies white, and their hands red and black. They wore a grizzly skin round the body, and on the head feathers which hung down in the back.

Wounded-face knew nothing of the organization save the name. He had heard that they dressed similarly to the Dogs.

Coarse Hair Society.

Wounded-face had only heard of this society (bacā'ca ō'xat'e) from his grandfather. There was something sacred about it. A young man going on the warpath promised the members to give them a dance provided he performed some brave deed in battle. When dancing, the members dressed up. On the head they placed a piece of scalp from a buffalo head of the size of a human scalp. Hair was attached to the scalp so as to hang over the members' faces. They put honor marks on their clothes. The left leggings were painted red up to the knee, and black marks were put round the lower legs as a sign that the wearer had struck many enemies. Leaders in war who had killed enemies tied human hair to the leggings. For each enemy struck in war, a member put one feather on his head. If he had been wounded by an arrow, the split feather from an arrow, dyed red, was worn on the head. A gun wound was indicated by a stick about 9 inches in length, and whittled at the lower end so that the shavings remained on the stick. The young warrior providing for the entertainment of the performers filled a pipe for them, and, if possible, presented them with horses or eagle feather bonnets. He asked them to pray for him. All the older men rejoiced in such a feast.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that this society corresponds to Maximilian's As-Cho'h-O'chatā (Ascho'-O'chatā). On the 23rd of December, 1833, a large number of Indians visited the Fort. led by fourteen members of this society from the village of Ruptare. The entire head was covered with a wig of long, flat braids of hair, which fell over the face, completely hiding it. Feathers of the owl, raven, and of birds of prey,

[1] minis' xixe' ō'xat'e.

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each tipped with a thick white plume, adorned the head. One member carried a beautiful fan of white feathers, and wore on the head a complete swan's tail, each feather of which was decorated with dyed horsehair. The members wrapped themselves completely in their robes, and carried bow-lances trimmed with feathers, colored cloth, glass beads, and the like; most of them had fox skins attached to their heels. Several men beat a drum, while the rest formed a circle and imitated the sound of buffalo bulls. After they had danced for a while, the spectators threw a quantity of tobacco down for them, whereupon they departed for the village in the woods, taking off their wigs on the way. In another place, the Prince mentions rattles as well as drums, and states that the bow-lances were also decorated with bear guts.[1]

Black-Tail Deer Society.

All the old men above fifty were, according to Maximilian, members of the Black-Tail Deer organization (cu'psi ō'xat'e). Two female attendants cooked and served fresh water during a dance. All of the men wore a wreath of grizzly claws round the head, and displayed their honor marks in the form of feather head ornaments, braids of hair on arms and legs, scalps, painting, etc.

Wounded-face says that the organization originated on the Bad Creek, near the Heart River. One day two young men with arrows stayed on a high wooded hill by the Creek. They dug a deep pit, put sticks across, and covered them with grass. They wanted to snare some animals. One morning one of the men went towards the trap. As he drew close, he heard signs of a trapped animal. He was glad, looked inside, and saw that he had caught a large and very fat black-tail deer. He fitted an arrow to his bow, but the deer said, "Don't shoot me." "Why not?" "You are my son, you must not shoot me. Make a path for me to get out." The young man obeyed, and the buck got out. Then he said, "You are a young man, and I know what you desire: honor marks. I have the power to give them to you, but you have many other fathers, who will instruct you later." He stretched his legs, jumped away, and went some distance. Then he stretched his legs again, and sang a song. When his song was ended, he went towards a wooded hill. The young man knew there was a house there. It belonged to the Deer, and the door closed with a thud. The house was the Black-Tail lodge.

[1] Maximilian, II, 145f., 281f.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Badger Society.

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This society was not mentioned by any of my Mandan friends, but was described by Wolf-chief as a Mandan (not an Hidatsa) institution. The members were old and but few in number. They did not dance, but assembled to go into a sweat lodge together, on which occasion they tried to fight like badgers and otherwise imitate these animals. In leaving the sweat lodge they always proceeded backwards. The sweat bath could never get too hot for them. Only those who had sold all other societies took part in these proceedings. Like other groups, however, the Badgers attempted to sell their membership. Some years ago a single Badger remained, and offered to sell his membership rights to my informant, who, however, refused to purchase them.

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MANDAN AND HIDATSA WOMEN'S SOCIETIES.

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According to Maximilian, the Mandan women were grouped in four age-societies, and the Hidatsa women in three. Beginning with the youngest, the Mandan had a Gun society (Eru'hpa-Mih-Ochată), a River (Passan-Mih-Ochată), Hay women (Chan-Mih-Ochată), and White Buffalo (Ptihn-Tack-Ochată) society. His Hidatsa societies, listed in the reverse order, are the Wild Goose (Bi'hda-Ächke), Enemy (Ma'h-Iha'h-Ächke), and Skunk (Cho'chkäiwi) societies.[1] Of these, the Hay society was not mentioned by any of my informants.[2] On the other hand, a Cheyenne Women society was said to have been introduced among the Mandan in recent times. The River and the Buffalo organizations are generally admitted to be Mandan societies of old standing, while the Enemy society is unanimously considered of Hidatsa origin. In recent times the tribal lines were not strictly drawn, so that Mandan women belonged to the Hidatsa Enemy society, and Hidatsa women bought the Mandan Buffalo membership.[3] The case of the Skunk, Goose, and River societies is rather different, as there is evidence that each of these organizations existed independently in both tribes, though the Skunk society is said to be of Hidatsa, and the River society of Mandan origin, both by Maximilian and by native informants now living. As to the Goose society there is conflict of opinion. Maximilian lists it only among the Hidatsa organizations, while all of my informants are of opinion that it developed among the Mandan and was borrowed by the Hidatsa. Hides-and-eats specified that it originated in the Eastern Mandan village (Maximilian's Mih-Tutta-Hangkusch). Either alternative has interesting implications. If the Goose society originally belonged to the Mandan, then all the women's organizations of a sacred character are distinctive of that tribe. If, on the other hand the Goose women originally formed the highest of the Hidatsa organizations, it is worth noting that they were in later times subordinated to the Mandan White Buffalo women, there being general agreement as to the relative rank of the two organizations.

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Matthews[4] speaks of an Hidatsa Fox Women society of which I did

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[1] Maximilian, II. 145, 219.

[2] Maximilian tells us only that they wore their best clothes when they danced and sang scalp songs.

[3] This has also been noted by Matthews, 47.

[4] Matthews, 155.

4: Lowie E-5 (1910-1911) 1913
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Hidatsa NQ14

not even obtain the name. As his spelling of the words for "fox" and "skunk" is almost identical, I am sure that this similarity in sound misled him. His statement that members were from fifteen to twenty years old fits the facts of the Skunk society fairly well.

The mode of entrance into at least the majority of the organizations was evidently similar to that in the men's organizations, but though purchase of membership was collective, there are indications that sometimes age-mates of the buyers did not participate in the purchase. The Skunk and Gun societies are said by Hides-and-eats to have had no formal adoption whatsoever.

The ceremonial relationship between buyers and sellers has already been explained (see p. 226). Clan aunts became the buyers' mothers. If an Hidatsa buyer could not find a clan aunt in the sellers' group, the latter would appoint some member of another clan to act as aunt and mother for the occasion of the purchase (Buffalo-bird-woman, Hidatsa). When buying the Goose society, Buffalo-bird-woman had an aunt among the sellers, but as she was the sister of my informant's husband and lived in the same lodge, it did not seem proper to buy the membership from her. Sometimes several girls took food to the same clan aunt, who would thus become the mother of several buyers.

That membership meant primarily ownership through purchase seems clear from several statements. Thus, Young-beaver still regards herself both a Cheyenne and a Goose woman, and Hides-and-eats holds both the Goose and the White Buffalo membership, because these informants never sold their membership.

Three of the women's organizations — the River, Goose, and White Buffalo societies — are rather sharply separated from the others by their clearly sacred character and the cleansing ceremony that concludes their performances. The Goose and White Buffalo societies are associated with securing food through magico-religious means. It should be noted, however that in both cases the women acted under the direction of a male singer. Thus, Calf-woman declared that it was the privilege of the Goose women's singers, Wounded-face and Poor-wolf, to tell the tale of the society's origin. The Skunk, Gun, and Enemy Women societies were obviously associated with war. To what extent any of the women's organizations had developed the social factor, is not clear. Rev. Wilson learned that the Skunks occasionally prepared feasts for themselves and their "friends." If members of the other Hidatsa societies were sick and unable to do their own planting they would prepare a feast for their fellow-members, who would come and plant all the sick woman's garden for her.

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Then this dried meat was appropriated by the mothers. When the runners had come back, they cleansed themselves by brushing themselves with sage. Then all returned to the village. There a sweat lodge was made. After all the women had entered the sweat house, the chief singer also went in, chanted, dipped some sagebrush into water, and sprinkled all the women with it. Next the mothers prepared food, and gave it to their daughters, whereupon a general feast followed.

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While the two middle officers wore the duck-bill head bands, the leader and rear officer wore no distinctive badge. The members on the left side of the lodge painted their faces black between the mouth and chin, while those on the right side used blue paint. The musicians had drums, but no rattles.

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The object of the ceremony was to make the corn grow. The geese and the corn were supposed to be one and the same thing.

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Owl-woman's social career is well-nigh unique in that she never joined any organization until she was of mature age, when she entered the Goose society. She knew of only one other Mandan woman who had not joined other societies. When the River women collectively bought the Goose society, Owl-woman went along and purchased the membership with them. A candidate had to prepare a large quantity of dried beef for her mother, and also presented her with a horse. When receiving the bundle of sage with the corn, the novice paid her adopter another horse. According to Owl-woman, anyone, man, woman, or child, might volunteer to make an offering to the geese, and would then have to prepare the requisite food for the ceremony. The society marched out in regular order towards this person's lodge, the singers going ahead of the rest. The middle officer nearer to the Leader had her face painted blue from the mouth downwards, while her mate used black paint. The members halted and danced four times on the way. In entering, the rear officer went in first. One of the musicians smoked sage for incense near the central fireplace, and all members approached in order to scent their blankets. When all had taken their places, the person who had pledged the ceremony brought in the calico, or other property, to be presented as an offering, and also paid the incense-burner and his fellow-musicians. Then the singers began to sing for the dance. They sang four sets of four songs each, with an intermission between each set. After the dance, one of the singers took a stick, impaled some of the food on it, and offered it to the four quarters, finally throwing it into the fireplace. Before the commencement of the feast, the pledger went to the singers and induced them to utter a prayer in his behalf, asking for prosperity, victory in war, and the other good things of life. He also went about to the several members, and anyone owning personal medicines gave them to

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happened to be an officer, her badge and office were simply transferred to the purchaser.

The Hidatsa derived this society from the Mandan, but did not consider it so sacred as the Mandan did. Thus, as stated above, the Mandan rule was that women must not sleep with their husbands but must remain in the dance lodge during the four nights of the dance. Among the Hidatsa only the unmarried members regularly stayed in the dance lodge overnight. The married women went home, unless their husbands consented to let them follow the Mandan regulation.

Although Buffalo-bird-woman denied that the dance was regarded as sacred by her people, two features seem to have a religious character. In the first place, the annual performance took place after someone having had a dream to that effect had given a feast to the organization. Secondly, the performance closed with the ceremonial sweating and cleansing. The women took off their grass head bands, removed the feathers from them, piled up the crowns on the top of the sweat lodge, and went in to sweat, a few at a time. Then a man approached, holding in his hand some sage-brush with which he brushed off the sweat lodge, singing a song. All the women rose and faced him, and he brushed off the women, one by one, singing a song for each member. This power, my informant imagined, had been acquired by purchase.

Cheyenne[1] Women Society.

Young-beaver who had entered the River Women society when not quite 20, bought the Cheyenne Women membership, with some thirty of her comrades, at the age of a little over 30. She still considers herself a member of the Cheyenne Women society.

The name of this organization (cō′ota mī ō′xat'e) indicates the source from which it is said to have been derived by the Mandan. Buffalo-bird-woman said that she first heard of the society about 56 years ago (1911), and that she joined as the only Hidatsa woman, her father having been asked for his consent. Any member who chose might assume men's garb. Some dressed like the Dakota, tying their front braids with otterskin, while others affected the long switches of the Crow. From two to four male singers were also chosen. At a dance of the organization a man carrying an eagle feather fan acted as leader, followed by the women in single file. At the intonation of a certain song, the leader held his fan close to his face,

[1] One interpreter translated the native word "Sioux."

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Hidatsa NQ14

In Calf-woman's day[1] the number of Mandan and of Hidatsa women in the society was about equal. The performances ceased, under Government pressure, when she was about fourteen years of age.

Hides-and-eats, who had served as rear officer, added a number of details. It was necessary to join in the wintertime because that was the season of the dance. The person who called for the performance of the great ceremony must have dreamt to that effect and was expected to prepare a great deal of food for the society. If, during the dance, a member went outside from necessity and a young man pulled her blanket, she was obliged to say, "A wolf has bitten me." If she failed to say this, she was in danger of actually being bitten by a wolf. The members were middle-aged, while the two women with skunkskin head bands were elderly. Hides-and-eats set the number of singers at four; their age was immaterial, but as a matter of fact they were about fifty or sixty. They were not identical with the musicians of other women's societies.

Buffalo-bird-woman says that the White Buffalo women were in the habit of going round the village in the morning, passing every lodge. One member would enter a clan daughter's lodge, and say to her, "So-and-so's daughter, give me light" (that is, fire). The clan daughter sometimes answered, and sometimes remained silent. Once the informant's aunt addressed her as stated above, and she replied, "Yes, I will do so." This signified her willingness to provide a feast. The next day, accordingly, she brought large quantities of food, invited all the White Buffalo women to her lodge, and entertained them. Further, she gave the society a new gun as a present, and a piece of calico to be smoked with incense. The incense-burner, who also had the privilege of taking off all the members' robes and hanging them up, took charcoal, made incense, seized the head of the rear officer's robe, shook it, proceeded to the middle officer's,[2] and repeated the same performance, as she finally did with the leader also. She made incense as she passed along the circle of members. Then the dance began. All wore their crowns of white buffalo skin on this occasion. When the singers commenced to sing, the leader and the rear officer rose and danced forward, crossing each other's path. They returned to their places, and repeated the performance at the next two songs. At the fourth song, the middle officer also rose, and all three danced, facing alternately the fireplace and the door, and finally returning to their places. At the following song everyone rose and danced. After the dance was over, the little girl approached the rear officer with a corn-ball, and put a little of the corn

[1] This informant is about 56 years old (1910).
[2] This informant, like Hides-and-eats, speaks of but one little girl in the society.

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

When, however, they are full dressed, they put a variety of feathers in their hair, frequently a semicircle of feathers of birds of prey, like radii, or sunbeams, or a bunch of the tail feathers of the raven placed in a similar manner. Sometimes they have a thick tuft of owl's feathers, or small rosettes made of broad raven's feathers, cut short, in the centre of which is the tail of a bird of prey spread out like a fan. These feather ornaments are frequently determined according to the several bands or unions, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They likewise wear the large horned feather cap; this is a cap consisting of strips of white ermine, with pieces of red cloth hanging down behind as far as the calves of the legs, to which is attached an upright row of black and white eagle's feathers, beginning at the head and reaching to the whole length. Only distinguished warriors, who have performed many exploits, may wear this head-dress (See Plate XIII., which is the best representation hitherto given of it).

If they give away one or more of these head-dresses, which they estimate very highly, they are immediately considered men of great importance; the regular price of such a cap is a good horse; for a single eagle's feather is always valued at one or two dollars. On their buffalo robes they often represent this feather cap, under the image of a sun. Very celebrated and eminent warriors, when most highly decorated, wear in their hair various pieces of wood, as signals of their wounds and heroic deeds. Thus Mato-Topé (see his portrait, Plate XIV.) had fastened transversely in his hair a wooden knife, painted red, and about the length of a hand, because he had killed a Chayenne chief with his knife; then six wooden sticks, painted red, blue, and yellow, with a brass nail at one end, indicating so many musket wounds which he had received. For an arrow wound, he fastened in his hair the wing feather of a wild turkey; at the back of his head he wore a large bunch of owl's feathers, dyed yellow, with red tips, as the badge of the Meniss-Ochata (the dog band).[1] The half of his face was painted red, and the other yellow; his body was painted reddish-brown, with narrow stripes, which were produced by taking off the colour with the tip of the finger wetted. On his arms, from the shoulder downwards, he had seventeen yellow stripes, which indicated his warlike deeds, and on his breast the figure of a hand, of a yellow colour, as a sign that he had captured some prisoners. A warrior so adorned takes more time for his toilette than the most elegant Parisian belle. The colour with which they paint their bodies is mixed with grease. When in mourning they colour the face and hands white. The women and children paint only their faces red, leaving the hair its natural colour. The Mandans and Manitaries, and all the Indians of the Upper Missouri, often wear the handsome necklace made of the claws of the grizzly bear. These claws are very large in the spring, frequently three inches long, and the points are tinged of a white colour, which is much esteemed; only the claws of the fore feet are used for necklaces, which are fastened to a strip of otter skin, lined with red cloth, and embroidered with glass beads, which hangs down the back like a long tail. Such a

[1] [This is one of the age-grade societies of the men. See also Cat. 116, pp. 355-56. --Analyst]

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

291 garment, with open sleeves, and a girdle round the waist; the hem of this dress is often scolloped and fringed; they ornament the wrists with iron rings, and tie strings of glass beads round their necks, and sometimes in their ears. Their leggins, called, by the Canadians, mitasse, are short, reaching only from the ankle to the knee. Their shoes are simple, and without any ornament.

301 Tattooing is in use among these people, but by no means general. Most commonly only the left half of the breast and the corresponding arm are marked with black parallel stripes, and a few other figures. The lower arm and some of the fingers are occasionally marked; the men do not tattoo their faces, and they are far inferior in this art to the New Zealanders and other nations of the South Seas. Among the women such designs are sometimes seen, but not [56 1] frequently, and they are chiefly among the women's band of the white buffalo cow.[1] The point of the needle is dyed a dark blue with the bark of the willow soaked in water.

302 171 In Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains it is stated that the Crows rub their bodies with castoreum, on account of its pleasant scent. I must observe, however, that the custom is not confined to one nation, but is practised by the Mandans, Manitaries, Crows, and Blackfeet, and most of the other tribes of the Upper Missouri. They mix the castoreum with a red colour, and with it rub their face and frequently their hair.

361 712 Having obtained a clear idea of the outward appearance of these Indians, we will next consider their habitations, villages, and domestic life. Their villages are assemblages of clay huts, of greater or less extent, placed close to each other, without regard to order. Mih-Tutta-Hang-Kush, the largest of the Mandan villages, was about 150 or 200 paces in diameter, the second was much smaller. The circumference forms an irregular circle, and was anciently surrounded with strong posts, or palisades, which have, however, gradually disappeared as the natives used them for fuel in the cold winters. At four places, at nearly equal distances from each other, is a bastion built of clay, furnished with loop-holes, and lined both within and without with basket-work of willow branches. They form an angle, and are open towards the village; the earth is filled in between the basket-work; and it is said that these bulwarks, which are now in a

[1] [This is one of the women's age-grade societies.--Analyst.]

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515 which arises from their continual and severe labour. They generally let their nails grow long.

The rude inhabitants of the prairies are extremely agile and hardy; they bathe, in the depth of winter, in the half frozen rivers, and wear no covering on the upper part of their body under the buffalo robe; they are very expert swimmers, even when quite young. I have already 481 observed that all these nations swim in the same manner as the Brazilian Tapuyas, which is confirmed by other writers. They often practise riding on horseback without a saddle, and very swift horse-racing. They are capital marksmen with the bow; all their senses are remarkably acute.

● 561 Among the Mandans, and all the nations of the Upper Missouri, as well as among most of the North American tribes, there are certain bands or unions or companies, which are dis- 425 tinguished from the others, and kept together by certain external badges and laws. They have three kinds of war or signal pipes, which are hung round the neck, and are among the badges of the unions, which divide the men into six classes, according to their age. The first band or union is composed of "the foolish dogs," or "the dogs whose name is not known." They are young people from ten to fifteen years of age, and wear a pipe made of the wing bone of the wild goose, which is but small. When they dance, three of them have a long broad piece of red cloth hanging from the back of the neck to the ground. Like every distinct class they have a particular song to accompany their dance. Formerly old people likewise belonged to this band, but then they never dared to retreat before the enemy; this has since been changed to the present limited rule. If a boy desires to enter the first band in order to become a man, he goes to a member of it, addresses him by the appellation of father, and endeavours to purchase the rank, the dance, the song, and the war pipe belonging to it, for certain articles of value, such as blankets, cloth, horses, powder, ball, and the like, which the father pays for him. If this place is sold to him he has a right to all the distinctions and privileges of the band, and he who sold it thereby renounces all claim to it, and endeavours to purchase admission to a higher band. The dances of the several classes are in the main very similar, but there is a particular 561 535 song belonging to each, and sometimes even a different step. The drum and schischikué must 534 likewise be purchased at the same time. The latter, among this band, is spherical, with a handle, and is made of leather.

561 The second class or band is that of the crows or ravens; it consists of young men from twenty to twenty-five years of age. Frequently young people are in none of the bands for half a year or more. They then go to the band of the crows, and say, "Father, I am poor, but I wish [534] to purchase from you." If the possessor agrees, they then receive the raven's feathers, which the band wear on their heads, a double war-pipe, consisting of two wing bones of a goose joined together, a drum, schischikué, the song and the dance. Each of these bands has a leader, called,

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by the Americans, head-man, who decides on the sale of its rights and attributes. This head-man is chiefly applied to when any one wishes for admission; a festival then takes place in the medicine lodge, which is continued for forty successive nights, of which I shall speak in the sequel. They dance, eat, and smoke there; the purchasers defray the expenses, and give up their wives every night to the sellers, till the fathers, as they are called, are satisfied, and transfer their rights to the purchasers, with which the festival concludes.

The third class or band is that of the soldiers, the most eminent and esteemed warriors. In their dances they paint the upper part of the face red, and the lower part black. Their war pipe is large, and made of the wing bone of a crane. Their badges are two long straight sticks bound with otter skin, to which owl's feathers are appended. When they go to war, they plant these sticks in the ground in front of the enemy, and, this done, they dare not leave them, not unlike the colours in a European army. They have a similar stick ornamented with raven's feathers (see second woodcut, page 256). They likewise have a dance and song peculiar to their band, and must purchase their admission into higher classes. Their schischikué or rattle is made of iron plate, in the form of a small kettle, with a handle. They likewise possess two tobacco pipes, which are used for smoking on special occasions. Two men keep and carry with them these pipes. All the higher classes may, at the same time, belong to the band of the soldiers, who act as police officers; it is, however, understood that all the members must be satisfied with the purchase. If but one object to the sale, the bargain cannot be concluded. It often happens that some individuals do not immediately give their consent, in order to raise the price and sell to more advantage afterwards. These soldiers, as they are called, form a kind of committee, which decides all the principal affairs, particularly general undertakings, such as changes of their places of abode, buffalo hunting, and the like. If the buffalo herds are in the vicinity, they watch them, and do not suffer them to be disturbed by individuals, till a general chase can be undertaken.

If, during this time, any one fires at a wolf or other animal, the soldiers take away his gun, ill-use, and sometimes beat him, to which he must submit; even the chiefs are not spared on these occasions. The Whites living in the neighbourhood are subject, during such a time, to the same laws, and the soldiers have often taken their hatchets from the woodcutters of the fort, or forbidden them to cut wood, that the buffaloes might not be disturbed by the noise.

The fourth band, that of the dogs, wear in their dance a large cap of coloured cloth, to which a great number of raven's, magpie's, and owl's feathers is fastened, adorned with dyed horse-hair and strips of ermine; they have a large war pipe of the wing bone of a swan. Three of them have the same strips of red cloth hanging down the back, as have been mentioned, when speaking of the first band. The head is generally adorned with a thick tuft of owl's, magpie's, and raven's feathers hanging down behind, and often all the three kinds of feathers are mixed together.

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561 The three men before-mentioned, who wear the strips of red cloth (the dogs, properly so called), are obliged, if any one throws a piece of meat into the ashes, or on the ground, saying, "There, dog, eat," to fall upon it, and devour it raw, like dogs or beasts of prey. The schischikué of this [534] band is a stick, a foot or a foot and a half long, to which a number of animals' hoofs are fastened The costume of these three dogs is shown in the portrait of Pehriska-Rupe. (Plate XXIII.)

The fifth band is that of the buffaloes. In their dance they wear the skin of the upper part 561 of the head, the mane of the buffalo, with its horns, on their heads; but two select individuals, the 564 bravest of all, who thenceforward never dare to fly from the enemy, wear a perfect imitation of the buffalo's head, with the horns, which they set on their heads (Plate XVIII.), and in which there are holes left for the eyes, which are surrounded with an iron or tin ring. This band alone has a wooden war pipe, and in their union they have a woman, who, during the dance, goes round with a dish of water, to refresh the dancers, but she must give this water only to the bravest, who wear the whole buffalo's head. She is dressed, on these occasions, in a handsome new robe of bighorn leather, and colours her face with vermilion. The men have a piece of red cloth fastened behind, and a figure representing a buffalo's tail; they also carry their arms in their hands. The men with the buffaloes' heads always keep in the dance at the outside of the group, imitate all the motions and the voice of this animal, as it timidly and cautiously retreats, looking around in all directions, &c. (Plate XVIII.)

561 The sixth band is that of the black-tailed deer. It consists of all the men above fifty years of age, who, however, likewise dance. Two women belong to the band, who wait on them at the dance, cook, carry water round to refresh them, and the like. All the men of this band wear a garland of the claws of the grizzly bear round their heads, and all insignia of their warlike exploits about their bodies, such as feathers on their heads, tufts of hair on their arms and legs, scalps, painting, &c.

561 All these bands, as well as the following dances, are bought and sold, and, as has been already 425 observed, on these occasions, the buyer must give up his wife to the seller during the festivity. 837 But if a young man is still unmarried, he will sometimes travel to a great distance to another 572 village, to ask a friend or companion for his wife, who accordingly goes with him, and, on the evenings of the dance, gives up his wives for him. A man often brings three or four, and even more, wives, and gives them to his father, as he is called, as soon as the dancing, eating, smoking, and the relating of their exploits, are concluded. Thus one woman after the other comes, as will be described in the account of the buffalo medicines of the Manitaries, strikes, with her hand, the arm of the man whom she will favour, and goes to the entrance of the tent, where she waits till he follows her. The man so invited often keeps his seat, and bows down his head; the woman then goes home, brings articles of value, such as guns, robes, blankets, &c., which she lays, piece by piece, before him, till he is satisfied, stands up, and follows her.

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There are other dances which are bought and sold, among which are a second dance of the third band, and the dance of the half-shorn heads, which the lower class may buy before they are old enough to belong to the third band.

The medicine feast, the insignia, and the dance belonging to the half-shorn heads, will be described in the sequel. Another dance is that of the old dogs. The band of the dogs can buy it of the buffaloes before they can become buffaloes, or purchase their admission to the fifth band. In the dance of the old dogs they paint themselves white, the hands red and black, and wear a girdle of the skin of the grizzly bear, and a bunch of feathers hanging down at the back of the head.

What is called the hot dance is now danced at Ruhptare, and by the Manitaries, who bought it from the Arikkaras. It is executed by the little dogs, whose name is not known. A large fire is kindled on the occasion, and a quantity of live coals is scattered on the ground, about which the young men dance, quite naked and barefooted. The hands, with the lower part of the arms, and the feet and ankles, are painted red. A kettle, with meat cut in small pieces, is hung over the fire; and when the meat is done they plunge their hands into the boiling water, take out the meat, and eat it, at the risk of scalding themselves. The last comers are the worst off, having to dip their hands the deepest into the boiling water. During the dance they have in their hands their weapons and the schischikué.

There is another dance which will be described in one of the following chapters. The dance is accompanied with the schischikué and drum, and is generally performed in a circle: the dancers carry in their hands the bow-lance,* which is adorned with feathers and bears' entrails.

The Mandan women are divided precisely in the same manner as the men, into four classes, according to their age. The youngest band is called "the band of the gun." They wear in their hair some down feathers of the eagle, and have their peculiar dance.

The next class into which they obtain admission by purchase is "the river class." When they dance they wear an eagle's feather, fastened to the fore part of the head with a piece of white ribbon, which projects on the left side, and is entwined round the quill with grass.

The third class consists of the women of the hay, who, when they dance, put on their best clothes, and sing the scalp song.

The fourth and last class is the band of the white cow. They paint one eye with some colour according to their taste, generally sky-blue. On the chin, this class, mostly consisting of aged women, tattoo themselves with black lines; round their heads they wear a broad piece of the skin of a white buffalo cow, something like a hussar's cap, with a tuft of feathers in it. A more

* The bow-lance is a large bow, to one end of which the iron point of a lance is fastened. It serves only for show, and is never used in obvious combat. It is very handsomely adorned with eagle's feathers, frequently with red cloth also, and, when completely decorated, is worth from 100 to 250 florins. It descends from father to son, and cannot be obtained except at a high price. Sometimes a horse or more must be given for it.

[i.e., in addition to the dances the purchase of which acquires membership in an age-grade society. See category 561.--Analyst]

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561 particular description of the dress of this band is given in the sequel, and the representation of it in Vignette XXVIII.

533 534 These unions, or bands, give occasion to many festivities, with singing, music, and dancing. But they have likewise other dances and diversions. One of these is the scalp dance, which may be more appropriately described among the usages of war. Their musical amusements are very simple. The mode of singing varies but little among all the American Indians; it consists of broken, deep exclamations, often intercepted by loud shouts, and is accompanied by a violent beating of time on the drum, and the rattling of the schischikué. Besides these two instruments, the Mandans have long wooden pipes, at the lower end of which there is generally an eagle's feather hanging by a string. (See woodcut, page 180.) Other pipes are thicker, about twenty inches long, and are perforated with holes; in this respect they differ from the war pipe. They are sometimes ornamented with pieces of skin, &c. These are the only musical instruments of the Indians besides the war pipes.

526 The Indians have also many games; the game called billiards, by the French Canadians, is played by two young men, with long poles, which are often bound with leather, and have various ornaments attached to them. On a long, straight, level course, or a level path in or near the village, they roll a hoop, three or four inches in diameter, covered with leather, and throw the pole at it; and the success of the game depends upon the pole passing through it. This game is also practised among the Manitaries, and is described, in Major Long's Travels to the Rocky Mountains, as being played by the Pawnees, who, however, have hooked sticks, which is not the case with the tribes here mentioned.

The women are expert at playing with a large leathern ball, which they let fall alternately on their foot and knee, again throwing it up and catching it, and thus keeping it in motion for a length of time without letting it fall to the ground. Prizes are given, and they often play high. The ball is often very neat and curiously covered with dyed porcupine quills. (See Plate XLVIII. Fig. 14.) Card-playing has not yet reached these Indians, though it is in use among the Osages and other tribes. The children of the Mandans and Manitaries play with a piece of stag's horn, in which a couple of feathers are inserted; this is thrown forward, the piece of horn being foremost.

About the middle of March, when the weather is fine, the children and young men play with a hoop, in the interior of which strips of leather are interwoven; its diameter is about a foot. This hoop is either rolled or thrown, and they thrust at it with a pointed stick; he who approaches the centre most nearly is the winner. The hoop and the stick are represented in Plate XLVIII.

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437 willing and ready to serve you as long as you have any property.
177 But when all is expended you may shift for yourself, as they will pretend they do not understand you any longer. Besides paying our host [343] beforehand, I promised him a tobacco-pipe on my departure, if I were then pleased with his conduct during our stay. His pay consisted of the following articles: 60 balls and powder, 4 large knives, 2 small knives, 1 fathom tobacco, 1 dozen rings, 1 dozen hawk-bills, 6 flints, 3 worms, 3 awls, and 1/4 pound blue beads.

164 [343] The natives at present are mostly affected with a bad cough, which daily takes some of them off. Aged and infirm persons, and young children, are the common victims to this disease. It is a kind of whooping-cough, which has appeared all along the Red and Assiniboine rivers, on the Saskatchewan even to Fort des Prairies, and in several other parts of the North West, carrying off many people

241 July 21st. I set off early on horseback with part of my people
[462 for the upper villages. We passed extensive fields of corn, beans,
● 561] squashes, and sunflowers. Many women and children were already
412 employed in clearing and hoeing their plantations. Their hoes are the shoulderblade of a buffalo, to which is fastened a crooked stick for a handle; the soil not being stony, this slight implement answers every purpose. The road first led over two hills, after which we came to a smooth and pleasant plain for about two miles to the Saulteur (Soulier) [Amahami—Analyst] village, of about 40 huts.

361 [362]. . These villages are surrounded by a kind of stockade, princi-
417 pally made of driftwood, which has a miserable appearance and is daily falling to pieces; but I am told that upon any emergency it can be put into a tolerably good state of defense at very short notice, as every man, woman, and child lends a hand.

526 We witnessed a diversion which takes place almost every day
481 between the Mandanes and Saulteurs (Souliers). It is the exercise
702 of running long foot races, in order to be prepared for the emergency of being dismounted and obliged to fly from their enemies at war. They assemble upon a beautiful green near the village, where, having remained some time, calling out to their comrades to come and run, they set off in a file on a slow trot, entirely naked, taking the road that leads up the hills to the S., about a mile from the village. Passing near those rising grounds, they disappear, and are not seen till they reappear from the S.E., down a steep hill and over a level plain, to the spot whence they started. Here they do not stop, but rush on to the Missourie, and plunge in headlong, all